SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: What is the implication of it?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): My ruling is that you have got the opportunity to raise the issue... (*Interruptions*) Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee, you had already walked out on that issue... (*Interruptions*) Mr. Minister.

SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI: I share the concern of the hon. Members. In fact, very pertinent questons have been raised by hon. Members from Lok Dal, also by Mattooji and others.

Sir, it is a sensitive Notification. As per the rules of our own Parliament—hon. Members know this also —we have to lay it immediately. And as per the Rules of the House we are laying it.

Now, coming to the point as to the urgency, Sir, here the price of crude oil has been coming down since last December, since one year, and in fact the revenue also is going down. Last year the revenue was Rs. 874 crores on account of this crude oil customs duty. But for this notification, it would have gone down to 690 crores leaving a loss of 274 crores. It is because of this measure that we are going to get 100 crores. This is the approximate calcuation. Now, in spite of this measure, there will be a gap of 174 crores.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: How much would you have lost during this night?

SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI: I have to come before the House as early as possible. That is the mandate given by the Parliament to use. In compliance of that, we have to come before the Parliament saying that we are doing it. The hon. Member in the member of the Public Accounts Committee. Now, it has been stated that if the Parliament is in session, we have to come before it with these notifications.

The hon. Member, Shrj Matto has made a point. He has asked whether there would be any effect on the consumers I assure the House that there will not be any price rise. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: That is obvious. The point is that you have 400 crores and also these 100 crores in the next three months. This money could be passed on to the consumers. The prices could be reduced. You are not allowing that reduction to take place. That is the point.

SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI: These oil companies will absorb the entire duty and there shall not be any increase even of a single paisa in the administered price.. Thank you.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSON ON ELECAORAL REFORM —*Contd.*

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, चुनाव सुधार विधि तथा लोक सभा की जो सीटें हैं उनके परिसीमन के लिये जो महत्वपूर्ण विधेयक विषय चर्चा के लिए यहां आया है और सरकार तथा हमारे प्रधान मंत्री भी चाहते हैं कि इस देश में निष्पक्ष, स्वतंत्र और शुद्ध वातावरण में चुनाव हों और शायद इसी दृष्टि से 1984 के चुनावों के तुरन्त बाद जब राष्ट्रपति जी ने संयुक्त अधिवेशन में दोनों सदनों के सदस्यों के सम्मुख भाषण दिया था तो उन्होंने देश की जनता के सामने सरकार की ओर से आश्वासन दिया कि बहुत शीघ्र हम चुनाव कानूनों में परिवर्तन करेंगे, चुनावों में सुधार लाने के लिए कानून लाएंगे।

श्रीमन्, इसके पहले भी इस विषय पर चर्चा चल रही है और हमारे देश में जो चुनाव हो रहे हैं विधान सभाओं के और लोक सभा के उनके लिए प्रावधान हमारे संविधान के अनुच्छेद 324, 325 और 326 में है और परिसीमन के सिलसिले में अनुच्छेद 80 और शायद 171 में है। जब हमारे संविधान निर्माताओं ने संविधान बनाया था जो उसमें इस बात का प्रावधान किया है कि यदि राष्ट्रपति जी चाहें तो कई चुनाव आयुक्त हो सकते हैं, उनकी संख्या निर्धारित नहीं की गई है और साथ ही यह भी कहा कि जब कई चुनाव आयुक्त होंगे तो चीफ इलेक्शन कमिश्नर वहां पर अध्यक्षता करेगा। इस बात का प्रावधान उस अनुच्छेद में भी है

कि चुनाव आयोग जो नियुक्त किया जाएगा उसके संबंध में संसद अधिनियम बनाएगा। मेरी जहां तक जानकारी है, चुनाव आयोग की नियुक्ति के संबंध में कोई भी कानून या अधिनियम इस संसद् ने अभी तक पारित नहीं किया है जब कि चुनाव आयोग की स्थापना 1950 में हो गई थी और हमारा संविधान भी 1950 में पारित हो गया था। रिप्रजन्टेशन आफ दि पीपुल्स ऐक्ट 1950 और 1951, कंडक्ट आफ इलेक्शन रुल्स, कुछ इलेक्शन कमीशन के डाइरेक्शंस हैं, कुछ कोड आफ कंडक्ट हैं जिनके अनुसार चुनाव होता है। मैं सबसे पहला सुझाव आपको यह देना चाहता हूं कि संविधान के निर्माताओं की जो अपेक्षा थी, उनकी जो आकांक्षा थी उसकी पूर्ति होनी चाहिए थी और इस संबंध में जो संयुक्त कमेटी बनी थी संसद की 1970 में चुनाव आयोग के सुझावों के बाद, उसने सन् 1972 में सुझाव दिया था कि मल्टी मैंबर इलेक्शन कमीशन होने चाहिए और साथ ही साथ यह भी सुझाव दिया था कि जो रीजनल कमीश्नर हैं इनकी भी नियुक्ति की जाए। 1972 में यह संस्तुति आ गई लेकिन आज तक उसका पालन नहीं किया गया।

साथ-साथ केवल दो एक बार शायद 50-51 में रीजनल कमिशनर की नियुक्ति हुई है और उसके बाद आज तक नहीं हुई है। इसके अतिरिक्त सारा देश यह चाहता है कि जो इलेक्शन कमिशनर है, जो सरकार के एक्जीक्यूटिव हैं उसकी परिधि के बाहर हो क्योंकि चनाव के आधार पर हमारे देश में लोकतंत्र चलता है और इसलिए में यह सुझाव देना चाहता हूं कि चुनाव कमीशनर के लिए जो चुनाव आयुक्त बनाया जाए वह ऐसा व्यक्ति हो जो सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में जज बनने की योग्यता रखता हो। मेरा सुझाव है कि इस बात का प्रावधान किया जाना चाहिए कि चुनाव आयोग में चाहे वह सदस्य हो, या चेयरमैन हो या इलेक्शन कमिशनर हो, जब वह सेवा निवृत्त हो जाए तो उसके बाद उसको न तो केंद्रीय सरकार के अधीन या प्रदेश सरकार के अधीन कोई काम दिया जाए और न उसको किसी राज्य का राज्यपाल बनाया जाए और न ही विदेश में कोई हाई कमिशनर बनाया जाए। यह बात इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि जो भूतपूर्व चुनाव आयुक्त थे जिन्होंने अवकाश प्राप्त किया था उनको गुजरात का राज्यपाल बना दिया गया। अगर ऐसा होगा तो चुनाव आयुक्त जो होंगे वे प्रलोभन के अन्तर्गत काम करेंगे ऐसे उदाहरण हैं देश में जहां पर चुनाव आयोग ने, चुनाव आयुक्त ने दोहरा माप-दण्ड रखा है। असम में जब पीछे विधान सभा का चुनाव हुआ तो सभी राजनीतिक दलों ने इस बात का विरोध किया था कि असम की ऐसी स्थिति नहीं है। वहां पर हिंसा भड़क रही है, निर्दोष लोग मारे जा रहे हैं। तब भी वहां पर चुनाव कराये गये। वहां पर केवल 252 वोट पड़े तब भी वहां पर विधान सभा के सदस्य बन गये।

दूसरी बात मैं हरियाणा के बारे में बताना चाहता हूं। अभी हरियाणा में असेम्बली का चुनाव हुआ। एक लोकसभा के सदस्य थे उनको मुख्य मंत्री बना दिया गया हरियाणा का। हरियाणा है क्योंकि विधान परिषद नहीं है केवल विधान सभा है और जो विधान सभा का जो सदस्य होगा वही मुख्य मंत्री बन सकेगा। इसके लिए यह जरूरी है कि उन मुख्य मंत्री को जो सस्दय नहीं है, उनको 6 महीने के अन्दर विधान सभा का सदस्य बनना पड़ेगा। एक तोशाम सीट रिक्त हुई और जब यह सीट रिक्त हुई तो इसके पहले एक और विधान सभा सीट बहुत पहले से रिक्त चली आ रही है। यह चन्द्रावती जी की सीट थी। उन्होंने इस्तीफा दे दिया था, त्याग पत्र दे दिया था। उसका नोटिफिकेशन भी जारी हो गया। समाचार पत्रों में खबर आ गयी कि उसका चनाव होने जा रहा है लेकिन उन चार विधान सभाओं की सीटों का चुनाव नहीं कराया गया केवल एक सीट तोशाम का ही चुनाव कराया गया। यह कोड आफ़ कंडक्ट में भी दिया गया है कि अगर किसी सीट पर विधान सभा में 90-92 से अधिक वोट पड़ेंगे तो वहां चनाव कराये जायेंगे। यहां तोशाम में जो चनाव हुआ वहां पर 98 प्रतिशत वोट केवल एक ही सदस्य को पड़े। मैं निहायत अदब के साथ कहना

[श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय]

चाहता हूं कि मैं इलाहाबाद से आता हूं और आदरणीय जवाहरलाल जी को भी 98 प्रतिशत वोट नहीं मिले । इन्दिरा गांधी जी को भी कभी 98 प्रतिशत वोट नहीं मिले । डा० लोहिया, इलाहाबाद में चुनाव हो रहा था तो वह हमेशा एक क्षेत्र कटुवा से ही खड़े हुआ करते थे । डा० लोहिया को उस क्षेत्र के एक बथ पर सारे वोट मिले पंडित जी को एक भी वोट नहीं मिला लेकिन इनको तो 98 प्रतिशत वोट मिलते हैं और चुनाव आयोग मूक दर्शक होकर बैठा हुआ है । इस ओर ध्यान देने की कृपा की जाए और यहां पर इस बात की चर्चा की गई है कि की गई ई कि मसल पावर, मनी पावर यानी गुंडा शक्ति धन शक्ति का प्रयोग होता है । इस सम्बंध में लोकनायक जय प्रकाश नारायण का एवरी मैन्स में एक आर्टीकल है उसको में पढना चाहता हूं ।

I quote:

"Collection of Party funds, specially for elections is perhaps the largest source of political and the other fields of corruption. One hears of fantastic amounts running into tens of crores collected by certain Ministers of the Union Cabinet and placed at the disposal of the Prime Minister. These amounts are not entered into the Congress Party's open account books nor are even audited no one knows except for a very few how much is collected what part of it is pocketed by the Ministers concerned, nor how the moneys are spent. These funds are used mainly for Parliamentary and State elections at which the dependable supporters of the leadership, particularly of those among it, whether at the Centre or in the States, who happen to have command over the vast funds, are specially favoured. These funds are also used for 'managing' Party members, buying up defectors and toppling not only Opposition Ministers but also Congress Ministers in the course of party in-fighting."

और उसके बाद 6 मार्च, 1975 में तत्कालीन लोक सभा के अध्यक्ष और तत्कालीन राज्यसभा के सभापति जो थे उनके पास एक विशाल जलूस लेकर गये और देश की जनता की ओर से उनको एक मांग-पत्र दिया था । उस मांग-पत्र में भी मांग करते हुए मनी पावर की चर्चा की गई है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री हच० हनुमानतप्पा) : इसको पढ़ने के बजाय आप इसको मिनिस्टर के पास भेज दीजिये ।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : इसमें कहा गया है –

It is essential that Parliament should at least be made more responsive to popular aspirations and elections must not be allowed to be influenced by official machinery.

विधि और न्याय मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री एच०आर० भारद्वाज) : यह तो मेरे पास है । आप अपने विचार रखिये ।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : मैं यह राज्य सभा के रिकार्ड के लिए कह रहा हूं । मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा हूं कि इसके बाद तारकुण्डे कमेटी बनी । तारकुण्डे कमेटी ने सन 1970 में अपने प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किये । सन 1984-85 के चुनावों के बाद राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि चुनावों में सुधार लाने के लिए कानून लाया जाएगा । उसके बाद चुनाव आयोग ने कुछ सुझाव बनाये और सारे राजनैतिक दलों के पास भेजे । मई, 1985 में चुनाव आयोग ने अपनी चिट्ठी में लिखा है कि जो सन् 1984 में विधान सभाओं के चुनाव हुए और 1985 में लोक सभा चुनाव हुए है उनके अनुभवों के आधार पर ये सुझाव राजनैतिक दलों के पास भेजे जा रहे हैं । राजनैतिक दलों ने अपने सुझाव लिखकर चुनाव आयोग के पास भेज दिये और चुनाव आयोग ने वे सुझाव सरकार के पास भेज दिये होंगे । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस सरकार की कथनी और करनी में बड़ा फर्क है । यह सरकार ढपोरशंकी है । इसका मतलब यह है कि वचन किम कृपणता ।

अर्थात कहने में कोई कमी नहीं करनी चाहिए यह कहा जाता है कि चुनावों में मसल पावर का इस्तेमाल किया जाता है, गुण्डा शक्ति का इस्तेमाल किया जाता है। लेकिन यह सरकार जान-बूझकर चुनाव कानून में कोई संशोधन नहीं कर रही है। इसलिए मैं सुझाव देना चाहता हूं कि जो मतदाताओं की आयु की सीमा अनुच्छेद 326 में 21 वर्ष रखी गई है उसको घटाकर 18 वर्ष करना चाहिए। इस संबंध में जो जोयन्ट इलेक्शन कमेटी बनी थी और जिसमें दोनों सदनों के सदस्य थे, उन्होंने चर्चा की है है और अपनी संस्तुति दी है? इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि उसके अनुसार चुनाव कानून में संशोधन किया जाय।

तीसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि धार्मिक स्थलों का दुरूपयोग राजनैतिक कार्यों और चुनाव कार्यों के लिए नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। सारे देश में धार्मिक स्थलों का जो दुरूपयोग हो रहा है उसके कारण सारे देश में हिंसा फैल रही है। मेरा सुझाव है कि इस संबंध में सरकार को अबिलम्ब कोई कदम उठाना चाहिए। अपनी बात को समाप्त करते हुए मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हु कि जो कोड आफ कंडक्ट बनाया गया है उसको किस तरह से लागू किया जाय, इसके लिए उसको कोई कानूनी जामा नहीं पहनाया गया है ऐसी ही राय कानूनी विशेषज्ञों की है और चुनाव आयोग की भी यही राय है अगर आप उसको कानूनी जामा नहीं पहनाते है तो यह कोड आफ कंडक्ट बेमाने हो जाते हैं। जब तक आप उसके अनुपालन के लिए कोई कानून नहीं बनाते हैं तब तक उसको लागू करने में दिक्कत होगी। चुनाव आयोग जो अनुदेश जारी करता है उनको लागू करने के लिए जब तक कोई अथारिटी उसके पास नहीं होगी तब तक उसका पालन नहीं हो सकता है। मैं यह भी सुझाव देना चाहता हूं कि चुनाव आयोग और पोलिंग बूथ जितने भी लोग चुनाव के काम में लगे होते हैं वे सब न्यायपालिका से होने चाहिए ताकि उनके ऊपर एक्जीक्यूटिव का कोई भी असर न हो। मुझे पूरी आशा है श्री भारद्वाज जी बहुत बड़े वकील है, विधिवेदा हैं, वे सदन की भावनाओ को ध्यान में रखते हुए प्रधान मंत्री जी ने और राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो आश्वासन दिया है उस आश्वासन की पूर्ति बहुत जल्दी करेंगे।

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, many Members in this House both from the ruling party and the opposition have made certain suggestions with regard to the reforms in the electoral system. I came here exactly four years nine months ago and since the time I came here I have been hearing from the Government that election reforms, electoral reforms will soon be enacted. Not only that, but when our Prime Minister assumed office, Sir, Mr. Minister, he made two important promises to the nation. One promise that our Prime Minister made was that he would do away with this evil of defections. We all congratulate him and are grateful to him for this. The second promise he made to the nation was that electoral reforms will be made as soon as possible. This has not so far been possible for the Government to do. I have been hearing it for the last four years and nine months that the Government will soon come up with electoral reforms. I do not want to go into the points raised by other friends, but I have one or two points that I would like to place before the hon. Minister There is an office of the Comptroller and Auditor General, and under clause 148(4) of the Constitution "The Comptroller and Auditor General shall not be eligible for further office either under the Government of India or under the Government of any State after he has ceased to hold his office" Then, there is Union Public Service Commission. Under article 319(a) of the Constitution "the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission shall be ineligible for further employment either under the Government of India or under the Government of a State". There are sub-clauses (b), (c) and (d) also. I would like to ask, when for offices like the Comptroller and Auditor General of India and the office of the Chairman and members of Union Public Service Commission,

[Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto]

the Constitution says like this, why should it not be so in the case of the most important pillar of democracy, that is, the Chief Election Commissioner? This is a very important thing that we have to provide that the Chief Election Commissioner or the Chief Election Commissioners shall not be eligible for any Government appointment. What is the result? The Chief Election Commissioner is a senior officer of the Government of India who attains that position. But for being eligible for further posting, he becomes a tool of the Government of the day so that he can get gubernatorial or any other post. I would suggest to the hon. Minister, if possible, by an Ordinance, this provision should be brought about.

The second point that I want to make is that under article 324(2) "The Election Commission shall consist of the Chief Election Commissioner and such number of other Election Commissioners, if any, as the President may from time to time fix and the appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners shall, subject to the provisions of any law made in that behalf by Parliament, be made by the President." Now, the provision is very clear that we can have Chief Election Commissioners and that means, not one but a body of Chief Election Commissioners. Why is it not being done? The hon. Minister the other day while replying to a non-official motion stated that the Chief Election Commissioner does not favour having many Chief Election Commissioners. I would like to know from him how can a man who is the master of all that he surveys, dilute his powers and wish these to be share by others? It is for the Government to think that for a big country like ours, a continent, whether one Chief Election Commissioner or a number of Election Commissioners should be appointed. This is very important that the Chief Election Commissioners should be five in the Commission, and not one Chief Election Commissioner.

The third point that I want to make is that for purposes of election, identity cards have to be issued. But I have one more novel suggestion to make, that along with identity card, which shall be issued at the time of the election, the requirement should be that this identity card shall also be surrendered at the time of poll because this will obviate the evil of booth-capturing or bogus voting because this can be tallied whether the actual number of those who polled were there or not, by identity cards with photographs that are issued.

This suggestion is a very important one. This may kindly be taken into consideration. The fourth and final point—because I do not want to take the time of the House—that I would like to make is this. I would request the hon. Minister. We have heard a lot. But give us a time-limit. I do not mind whatever time-limit you fix. But you should fix right how the time-limit. You should say now by what time you will be able to bring about the electoral reforms. Thank you.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी चुनाव कानून में सुधार के सम्बन्ध में माननीय सदस्य गुरुपदस्वामी जी ने और दूसरे माननीय सदस्यों ने पक्ष के और विपक्ष के जो सुझाव रखे हैं मैं उन से सहमत हूं और मैं उनको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूं। मैं सिर्फ एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर कोई सोया रहे तो उसको जगाया जाए और कोई जगा हुआ है उसको कितना ही धक्का दीजिये वह नहीं उठेगा। हमारी सरकार कानशस डेवल यानी ज्ञान-पापी जैसा काम कर रही है। उसको सब मालूम है। हम लोग जो सुना रहे हैं कोई नयी बात नहीं है उनको मालूम है लेकिन वह करना नहीं चाहती है। पोलिटिकल बिल नहीं है तो इसका कोई उपाय नहीं है। लेकिन जिन लोगों ने कहा है कि इलैक्ट्रोनिक

मशीनें लाई जाएं तब समस्या का निदान होगा, बिहार में कम से कम समस्या का निदान होने वाला नहीं है। मैं मन्त्री महोदय का ध्यान इलैक्शन कमीशन की थर्ड रिपोर्ट जो 1985 की है उसके पेज 47 की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा उसमें प्रिज़ाईडिंग आफिसर्ज 6 चुनाव क्षेत्रों का नाम दिया गया है, उन पर एक ही चार्ज है।

Stamping of ballot papers in favour of a particular candidate.

प्रिज़ाईडिंग आफिसर्ज जब स्टेम्पिंग करते हैं जब रक्षक ही भक्षक है तो इसको कौन बचा सकता है। हमको यह बता दीजिये कि फिर इसका इलाज कौन करेगा? दूसरी बात यह है कि यह सारी बातें सरकार के सामने लाई जाती हैं लेकिन सरकार उन पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं करती है। इलैक्शन कमीशन का कहना है मैं उसी पेज का फिर हवाला देता हूं कि उस पर सज़ा नहीं दी जाती है लेट-आफ़ कर दिया जाता है, लाइटली ले कर छोड़ दिया जाता है तो इसका क्या उपाय हो सकता है। इलैक्ट्रोनिक मशीन क्या आ कर भारद्वाज जी और ए० के० सेन जी को पकड़ेगी कि आपने ऐसा काम किया है? मिनिस्टर लोग वहां बूथ केपचरिंग करते हैं। उसी पेज में 25–26 में लिखा हुआ है कि वो लोग रिवाल्वर ले कर डाक बंगले में आए हुए थे उनको वहां से खाली करवाया निकलवाया तो मंत्री और विधायक अड़ गये। इसका क्या इलाज हो सकता है? दूसरी बात यह है कि लोग कह रहे हैं क्या सरकार को यह बात मालूम नहीं है कि बिहार की जो कौंसिल है उसमें 11 स्थान 1970 से रिक्त हैं, दूसरे 11 स्थान 1980 से खाली हैं, 12 स्थान 1982 से खाली हैं। यह भी इसी रिपोर्ट में है और यह 60 मैम्बर्ज से पूरा हाउस चलाते हैं लेकिन 90 मैम्बर्ज के लिए जो अलाटेड फण्ड है वह टी०ए०, डी०ए० सब कुछ खा जाते हैं और अखबारों में यह बात आई है कि एक मैम्बर एक एक लाख रुपया टी०ए०, डी०ए० बिहार कौंसिल में उठाता है और जिसमें इन की पार्टी के मैम्बर ज्यादा हैं। इसलिए हम यह कहना चाहेंगे कि जब सरकार को यह सब मालूम है तो कांशस डेवलप की बात है, हम इस में क्या करेंगे? इस संबंध में एक बात की ओर मैं कहना चाहता हूं। बिहार में कुछ ऐसे चुनाव क्षेत्र थे जिनमें मोर दैन 100 परसेंट वोटिंग हुआ है हम लोगों ने लिख कर दिया है। सहरसा चुनाव क्षेत्र में ऐसा हुआ था। मैं मन्त्री महोदय से कहूंगा कि अगर नहीं मालूम हो तो 100 परसेंट से ज्यादा पोलिंग हुई तब भी डिक्लेअर होगा कि वह जीत जाएगा तो इसका क्या उपाय है वह हम को बता दीजिये। यही पोज़ीशन है। मैं जिस बात की ओर अन्य सदस्यों ने जिसका जिक्र किया हो या नहीं किया हो, मैं कहना चाहता हूं अपने देश के सम्बन्ध में हमारा जो प्रजातन्त्र है वह विश्व का सब से बड़ा प्रजातन्त्र है और इस पर हम सब को गर्व है लेकिन इसमें हम तीन तरफ से भयकर खतरा देख रहे हैं। पहला खतरा तो हम ने आपको बताया बिहार में जहां पर लोगों के बालिग मताधिकार का अपहरण हो गया है। बिहार इस देश का दूसरा सब से बड़ा राज्य है अगर वहां बालिग मताधिकार समाप्त हो गया तो इसका क्लीयर इंडीकेशन है अब इस देश में बालिग मताधिकार की समाप्ति की दिशा में हम लोग जा रहे हैं। इस तरह से हमारा प्रजातन्त्र नहीं रह सकता है न हमारा गौरव रह सकता है। दूसरा यह है कि मंत्रीगण खुले आम चुनाव कमीशन के आदेशों के विरुद्ध आचरण करते हैं। गाड़ियों का इस्तेमाल सरकारी साधनों का उपयोग, चुनाव के समय लम्बे-लम्बे वादे, शिलान्यास, विज्ञापन आदि के जरिये। तीसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं और जो हमको लग रहा है कि अभी की स्थिति में सबसे खराब है वह यह कि देश में जिस ढंग से सांप्रदायिकता, धर्मांधता और जातिवाद फैल रहा है यह इस देश के प्रजातंत्र को सर्वनाश की ओर ले जा रहा है। इसके लिए अगर संविधान के अंदर महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन नहीं करेंगे तो हम आपको निश्चित रूप से कहते हैं कि इस वातावरण में हम इस प्रजातंत्र

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते हैं क्योंकि जो लोग धार्मिक राज्य की मांग करते हैं तो उसका अर्थ ही नेगेशन आफ डेमोक्रेटिक सिस्टम है। इसलिए ही अभी पंजाब में जो इलेक्शन हुआ था, वहां हम लोग अच्छा नहीं कर सकते हैं लोग धार्मिक नशे में हैं। हम क्या करेंगे यहां हिंदू राष्ट्र का नारा लगाया जा रहा है। अगर हिंदू भी ऐसे करने लगेंगे जैसे अभी हो रहा है तब तो सर्वनाश हो जायगा। कश्मीर में इस्लामी राज्य का नारा लगाया जा रहा है। इसीलिए हम मंत्री महोदय से और आपकी पार्टी के जनवादी विचार वाले लोगों से कहेंगे कि अगर आपकी पार्टी का अभी तक यह जो गौरव था उसको अगर मिटाना नहीं है, विश्व के सबसे बड़े प्रजातंत्र को मिटाना नही है तो अविलम्ब ऐसा कानून बनाइये, संविधान में परिवर्तन कीजिए जिससे इस सम्प्रदायवाद, जातिवाद, धर्मांधता, इन तीनों पर आप रोक लगा सकें इनाके का इलाका ऐसा है जहां हरिजनों को वोट नहीं देने देते हैं जब से प्रजातंत्र हुआ है, वोट का राइट आया है। एक बार भी उन्हें वोट नहीं देने देते हैं। यह जो एक फाउल उन्मान उठा हुआ है इसको रोकने की व्यवस्था नहीं करेंगे तो हम कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं। अंतिम बात कहूंगा उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय कि एक ऐसी ही घटना घटी थी जर्मनी में। जर्मन राष्ट्र हम लोगों से ज्यादा उन्नत है। ऐसी धर्मांधता तो नहीं लेकिन राष्ट्रीय अंधावाद ने असर कर लिया था और हिटलर आ गया था। तब वहां प्रजातंत्र का सर्वनाश हो गया और फासिज्म के खातम के बाद अभी कानून बना है, मैं पूर्वी जर्मनी की बात नहीं कर रहा हूं, पश्चिमी जर्मनी की बात कर रहा हूं। उन्होंने फासिज्म के प्रचार पर बिल्कुल रोक लगा दी है संविधान के द्वारा उन्होंने यह नियम बना लिया है कि प्रोपोर्शनल रिप्रेजेंटेशन होगा। राजनीतिक पार्टियों के चुनाव खर्च का एक भाग सरकार वहन करती है। ऐसा करना अपने देश में भी निहायत जरूरी हो गया है।

हम प्रोपोर्शनल रिप्रेजेंटेशन की क्यों मांग कर रहे हैं। उसमें बूथ कैप्चरिंग का वह प्रभाव नहीं हो सकता है। मान लीजिए कि बिहार पूरा एक कांस्टीटयूंसी हो जायगा तो पूरे बूथ को कोई कैप्चर नहीं कर सकता है। इसलिए उसमें वह समाप्त हो जायगा। इसी तरह से जो लोग यह सोचते हैं कि एक जाति का हम प्रचार कर लेंगे तो वह भी नहीं कर सकेंगे। इसीलिए हम लोग कहते हैं कि आप प्रोपोर्शनल रिप्रेजेंन्टेशन पद्धति को लाईये जहां तक कांग्रेस पार्टी का सरकारी पक्ष का यह कहना है कि इससे डीइस्टेबिलाइजेशन हो जायेगा तो डीइस्टेबिलाइज करने में कांग्रेस पार्टी से ज्यादा कौन है? हर मुख्य मंत्री को एक डेढ़ साल से ज्यादा रहने नहीं देते हैं। दूसरे साल आते-आते इनकी सरकार बदल जाती है देश में बाकी जो कोलीशन गावर्नमेंटस हैं, लेफटिस्ट गवर्नमेंट हैं वे 5-5 साल मिलकर काम करती हैं। यह तो डीइस्टेबिलाइजेशन आपके प्रोग्राम में ही निहित है इसी के चलते यह होता है। इसलिए हम उनसे अनुरोध करेंगे कि जैसे जर्मनी के कांस्टीटूशन में है प्रोपोर्शनल रिप्रेजेंटेशन कांग्रेस फ्रांस में है वहा हम कर लें। चुनाव के खर्च, मनी पावर की चर्चा बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने की। उसमें हम यह कहेंगे कि इसकी व्यवस्था करने के लिए आप सरकार द्वारा चुनाव का इंतजाम कीजिए ताकि चुनाव में लोगों को रुपया न लेना पड़े और जहां तक संभव हो गरीब

लोग भी चुनाव लड़ सकें। इसकी आप व्यवस्था कीजिए और आखिरी बात चुनाव कमीशन को आटोनामस बाडी बनाने की जो बात कही गयी है तो उसका अपना सेक्रेटरियट हो उसकी अपनी पद्धति हो और वे सारे अफसर जो इस तरह का पक्षपात करते हैं उन पर डाइरेक्ट एक्शन लेने का अधिकार उसको होना चाहिए, सरकार को नहीं होना चाहिए क्योंकि सरकार के लोग राजनैतिक पक्षपात करते हैं।

समय नहीं है इसलिए इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहूंगा कि अगर वे जगे हुए हैं तो हम उनको जगा ही सकते हैं लेकिन अगर थोड़ा सोये हुए हैं तो उठ जायें।

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: Sir, at the outset, I must thank Shri Gurupadaswamyji who opened the debate on a very vital issue. I am grateful to him when he pointed out that we have made a firm commitment to the electoral reforms, and the Presidential Address also contains that commitment. The Prime Minister also made a speech and referred to the electoral reforms.

Now several suggestions were made by Shri Gurupadaswamy. I am mentioning him specially because I found his speech quite useful for guidance. I am also grateful to all other Members who spoke on this subject—Shri Sahu, Shri Aruna, Shri Surinder Singh, Shri Mohanan, Shri Bir Bhadra Pratap Singh, Shri Satyanarayan Reddy, Shri Ashwani Kumar, Malaviya ji, Matto ji and lastly Chaturanan Mishra ji. I find and I believe they are very sincere when they made these speeches about the electoral reforms. But I essentially do not agree that we are not sincere in the matter of electoral reforms. I am not prepared to share that blame because you have listened to the contradictory speech made by the hon. Members. Can you point out where is unanimity in their views? So far as we are concerned, we are discussing this matter in our party, we have taken certain decisions. We had taken a very vital decision in the the beginning of 1985 which is a very radical decision—of stopping defections. If anybody believes in democracy, he should have no reservations to say that it is a decision which has made very firm contribution to the democratic process. But there also they are thinking that it was selfish, it was motivated by selfish reasons. Well any decision which is in our interest, you will call it selfish. But I do not subscribe to this view.

Then we brought an amendment regarding company donations. That was also termed selfish. But this is always there. A good thing may not be appreciated in that spirit. But may I draw the attention of the hon. Members of this august House that today it is the Eighth Lok Sabha that is meeting. Have we not succeeded in maintaining democratic processes in this country? Have the elections not taken place in this country regularly and at correct intervals? Can you deny this aspect? Do you really suffer from that type of disease which you are apprehending? Certainly not. I must give credit to the people of India who have responded to the call of time, who have checked all sorts of malpractices. If any political party tries to resort to these, they have successfully checked it and whenever they found some political party, whether it is the ruling party or the Opposition party, doing this, they have themselves answered in proper terms. I need not repeat when they were annoyed against the Congress in 1977, they reversed the whole trend. No malpractice, no muscle power, no money power could stop it. And when they were tired of the misdeeds of the Janata Party, they reversed the whole process again. Can you deny this?

One of my learned colleagues was saying about media. Can you forget the misuse of media in Janata Party days? It was used absolutely for political ends and for only one end: how to prosecute Mrs. Gandhi. Nobody can deny this. I wish the hon. Members could have listened to this. Don't teach us sermons; let us talk like friends. I am prepared to listen useful contributions that can be made to this election process. And that is

[Shri H. R. Bhardwaj]

the only thing that we must sincerely desire. But if you want to hit me below the belt, you must be prepared to look into your ownself.

I must draw your kind attention to another aspect. Accusations are being levelled against the Election Commission. I am not prepared to accept it. Whether it is A Election Commission or B Election Commission or C Election Commission, whenever elections have been held in this country, the Election Commission has performed its stupendous task very brilliantly with the cooperation of people, mind you. Again, political parties do not get that sort of a credit for that. It is again the people of India who have cooperated and who have seen that elections are held and results are announced in name. Maybe, in such a vast country if seven or eight polling booth were there, as pointed out by Mr. Reddy, I do not think that is a sufficiently grave disease from which we are suffering. But we wish that even those events should not take place. Let us prepare ourselves and arm ourselves with much more powers to be given to the Election Commission so that even that could not take place. But let us do some sort of an introspection whether we all agree on this. You can accuse me today but that won't solve the problem. Let us travel from one part of the country to another. People are resorting to booth capturing. And not one party; practically all parties which have the opportunity to resort to this. Let us decide among ourselves that we will stop it and we will not resort to it. But then, how will you come to power? There are parties which come to power only by resorting to booth capturing on a large scale and we have seen with our own eyes. I do not want to take the time of the House by going into them because it will raise a controversy. But the question today is, if we are sincere, if we are prepared, we have several proposals which we have circulated to all the political parties. The Election Commission has done it and one of the proposals is that we must eliminate non-serious candidates. When this proposal was circulated to the Communist Party of India, they disagreed. They have disagreed with several proposals of the Election Commission. Even they are not agreeing that we should eliminate non-serious candidates. They are not agreeing on the bar on contesting more than two constituencies. They are not agreeing on the disqualification of persons with criminal record. That speaks of their sincerity.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Where there is unanimity among all the parties . . .

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I am just putting the record straight because I have been charged with so many things; our party has been charged. I am saying what is the comment of the political parties on these proposals. I am prepared to implement them and I am going to discuss with them. I leave nothing to chance. I will discuss with them very shortly. But I must tell you what are the comments where some political parties do not want an end of criminal activity in the election process. Which are those political parties, let them be known to this House because they deliver long sermons to us.

Now we have circulated seven such suggestions which are very vital beacuse booth capturing has been emphasized time and again. It is a serious threat to democracy because if it is resorted to, only the strongest will come to power and the poor, the weaker sections and underprivileged sections will have no participation in democracy. Sir, I will not read because that will expose many political parties that they have no sincere desire for electoral reforms, because they have disagreed with all that the Eelection Commission has suggested and they are putting the blame on me that I am not bringing the Bill. I will bring the Bill. You will again oppose those reforms, I know.

I was speaking about one of the senior Members here. He was a Minister at the Centre at one point of time; he was a Congressman. I believe in his sincerity. He must be having certain sentiments because he is an oldtimer. But I will not go into it.

We have certain proposals which I will enumerate. One is elimination of non-

serious candidates because, as was pointed out, the ballot paper becomes so large. So we have taken a decision and I am very happy to announce that the Government has taken a decision that we will have electronic voting machines. I am aware of the Supreme Court judgement, but that judgement can be tackled by amending the election laws. But this is a very vital decision because, if you have voting machines, then the time required for counting and polling and everything will be very short. The Government has taken a decision and it will be implemented, as far as possible, before the next General Elections.

As Choudhury Surendra Singh pointed out, we have now a tendency—not from us, that is against us—that we bring old and infirm people, put them in the election fray and possibly bump off some of them and see that there is no election. So, there is this tendency. To meet this tendency we must amend the election law, and we must all agree on this. But some parties disagreed on this also.

7.00 P.M.

Then disqualification of persons with criminal records, we have suggested, we have circulated this also. But I will not mention that there are two or three parties which disapprove of this proposal. They say, "No. This is a proposal which is not practicable. How can you decide all this? It will be all political gains and all this". Motives are attributed.

Then sunitive measures for disturbances at election meetings.

Then fraudulent nominations.

Then booth-capturing. There is a proposal to make booth-capturing a cognizable offence. We are thinking very favourably in that direction. But again, the political will that was being talked is this, that we decide politically that we will never resort to booth capturing. The statute book cannot stop booth-capturing. It is there still today. As I said one day in the House, booth-capturing is even now a cognizable offence because it involves an element of intimidation, an element of force and violence. Nobody can capture a booth without use of force. And use of force has been prohibited by our law, our penal law. But the question is, where the boot is, and on which leg it is worn. Let us look into it. And let us do some introspection and then take a decision. I am prepared to discuss any time now because I have got the comments. One or two parties, including mine, have not sent the comments. As I told the debate is going on in our party. We are discussing it. Every member has to speak on this and then these issues will be taken up.

I would like to assure you that whatever promises have been made in the Presidential Address, will be implemented. Whatever was not expected has been done and will be done, I promise you.

But these are the issues, as I said, on which none of the political parties is one with the other as is the malady with their political ideologies. I very much wish, in a country like ours, we have parliamentary democracy, and parliamentary democracy through political parties. But see the scenario. How many political parties do we have? How many political parties do really take part in the election process throughout the country? When we were contesting in West Bengal, no other political party went to fight the Marxists there. Was it because of the identity of political views only to be seen to oppose Congress that they would not fight there? Then you go to other places. Do they travel beyond Bengal, anywhere in northern India? Let them fight throughout the country. They will know the popularity of their parties. They will know what the political will is.

You must have political polarisation in the country on the content of ideology. This is my most humble suggestion before this House. Let us have value-based politics as Mr. Gurupadaswamy says. I believe that he is sincere over it. And he has stuck to his guns. I know when he was a split in the party, he stuck to his guns. That is why I respect him. He stuck to an ideology. Let us all stick. But what to talk of other political parties? Sometimes it is Lok Dal, sometimes

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it is BKD, sometimes it is CKD. What is this?

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: There is the Congres, the undivided Congress, the Kerala Congress. So many Congresses are there.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: Is this political will ? I am talking about ideologies.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: The real Indian National Congress was that of which Mahatma Gandhi was a member. To which Congress do you belong? Do you not belong so Congress (I)?

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I am replying, my dear. Your party, I have not touched. If I am the judge, no political party should be recongnised in the name of language and religion as envisaged by Mr. Matto. Only by circumstances yours is a political party.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA : His party also has the name of an individual. It is Congress (I), Congess (Indira).

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : So also there should be no recognition when a party cannot prepare its own voters' list and cannot have elections for years. You cannot have your own voters' list.

SHHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I know.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You know. Where is your commitment?

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: The difficulty is this. Instead of giving sermons, let us discuss and listen. If there is anything wrong, I will withdraw. But you must give me an opportunity to tell you what really is the malady and what you suffer from. This is a discussion of hon. Members with us. I am prepared to correct myself if I am saying something wrong. I am emphasising on the aspect of political ideologies of the parties. I appreciate if there is a left party or a right party or a centre party, but where is it today?

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: It is left to the people to elect them.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: My dear, you are neither left, nor centre. You are right somewhere in the vacuum. Don't talk about it.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY : I am here becaus of the will of the people.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: You have come because of the will of the people, that is why I respect you. I admire if the political parties start respecting the will of the people, but the question is, let us see, whether we are today in the country all India political parties based on *political ideologies. That will give you* a handle where you can say that proportional representation must come and so and so must come. When people do not fight election throughout the country, how can you give them representation? You can give them representation in one State, but thy are blank in the other States. They don't contest.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY : So, what?

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: You say so what because it suits you.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : Does it require that proportional representation should be for one constituent in India? Is that your ideal of proportional representation?

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: Your idea cannot match with mine, because my ideology is....

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Why don't you take this idea?

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I cannot borrow from the books from where you read.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATERJEE: You need not borrow from the books, but why should it prevent you from having any knowledge at all.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: You are very very happy with your ideology, I

am grateful, but I cannot borrow that ideology because I don't like it. Therefore, let me say my own thing. Are you satisfied that in the country the base for political parties is ideologies? You are not, because you...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Don't put cart before the horse. It is the question of proportional representation.

SHHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: Neither is there a cart nor a horse. What are you talking? I am only telling you ...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: If you don't want to, your party will not exist.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: Our party exists in every village; our party exists in every town, every taluka, every district and in every province. Knowing it fully well that you would not allow us to fight democratically, still we go and fight you. You know it. Don't think we have not contested elections in West Bengal. I was an observer there. We sat in our office and you threw bomb on us and I was present there. This is the type of democracy you want.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You forget that your own party President was attacked by your own party. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I can't be charitable to them. They are trying to teach us democracy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Don't bother about their interruptions. Carry on.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I am not bothered about these interruptions. If I can educate them, it will be better. And my friends have given me an opportunity.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO : But you should discuss these things on the merit of the case.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: You have no merits. You have not suggested any. Let me point out to the Members from the CPI and the CPI(M) that they do not agree on any of the election reforms. They just have spoken about it so loudly.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: We are prepared to discuss with you in great detail on any of the proposals.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I will read out to them that they have not agreed on any of the proposals.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Don't bother about interruptions.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I am not bothered about that. They have reservation on the entire system of democracy.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: You said that Mr. Matto has no permit because he has not submitted any comment.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: Mr. Matto is a respectable person. But when you talk of democracy. I must point out डेमोक्रेसी की जो दुहाई देते है उनको तो डेमोक्रेसी में विश्वास होना चाहिए हमको विश्वास हैं तो हम लड़े वहां जाकर आप भी जाओं वहां और लडा करो । (Every political party must fight on its own strength. There should be no adjustment.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : (*Interruptions*) we have no faith in your democracy because ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: Our party is very very safe, don't bother about it.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: In the Congress ruled States the Panchayat elections are not held at all.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: I know what type of democracy you are managing. I am not bothered about these things. I am only saying that my friends should know their ideology. I am emphasising as a Mtmber of the House that before you venture upon these suggestions you should know what you are practising. I have pointed out because my very very senior friends said that they are all sincere and we are not. But, they especially those from the Marxist party, have refused to accept any of the proposals. They said that they do not believe in these proposals. Therefore, there is no use in discus-

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sing them. All of them have turned them down. (*Interruptisno*)

Now, Sir, if they don't agree on the point that the ideological content is the essence of democracy in the political party system, then I need not speak further on them. I tell you this was tested in India in 1977 and today every party has come to realise that a combination without a political ideology is of no use. You may test this once, you may test this twice. Some sort of commitment on programmes and policies has to be there as the basis of existence of every political party. It may succeed, may not succeed. But people have waited for the opportunity and any combination without principle will not succeed in this country, because people want policies and programmes. So the election in our country has always been fair with few aberrations. It has been fair and people have responded to it. We are in the process of finalising several important proposals and they will be implemented. This type of a cry that this promise will never be implemented is only because they have nothing else to say except accusing the ruling party. They have only one point programme, that is, to oppose our party. That is why people have not accepted them throughout the country. Merely because the election process has successfully come, it has met the need of the time and it has stood the test of time.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: In how many States your party is in majority?

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: We are in majority in this Parliament. This itself is sufficient.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: But throughout India you are not in majority.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: Your case is no better than mine, please understand that point. It is the wisdom of the people ... (*Interruptions*) Let us not enter into this argument, because nothing is going to be gained. You are very comfortable in your system. It is the good luck of the people of West Bengal. Thank you. You should be comfortable.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: In Tripura also.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: They do not want to travel beyond that point. It is very good. But we are discussing a very vital subject. Let them give their proposals which they want that we should accept. They have already rejected all the proposals of the Election Commission. I do not understand what they want the election Commission or us to do.

I agree on some of the suggestions made by the hon. Members that we must eliminate this muscle power. We will do that, but we need the cooperation of all political parties, because they are equally fellow-travellers in political life. We will eliminate the influence of money power as far as possible. But we cannot eliminate outside influence in political power. That is not for us.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: What about ruling party?

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: The difficulty is this, our system is our own and we cannot borrow the system from outside. That is the malady which these people are suffering. I am prepared to discuss and we shall discuss all these electoral reform proposals very shortly and we are in the process of formulating. But I will come back again to you. You will see that some of these political parties will not agree, because booth capturing suits them. Some of the manipulations which they pointed out suits them. So they do not want to go by that.

I am again very greatful to the hon. Members, at least some of the Members have made very useful suggestions about the delimitation issue. It is a very vital issue. This must be taken, because rotation of seats, I believe is very essential. So far as the frivolous candidates or false nominations or criminal people are concerned. What is this muscle power? It is only of criminals who are being used in the elections. So see that no criminal participates in the election. So alll these set of proposals are in our mind which we have circulated. We will very shortly implement them and essentially before the next General Elections. Now, the ex-

perience of 1984 General Elections has been noted by the Election Commission. They have given us several suggestions. We have not sit idle on this. We have circulated and our party and B.J.P. have responded to this circular. So when this is compiled we will put before all the political parties and our leaders will discuss with them.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA : Your party has not complied with the recommendations of the Election Commission.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: You have not discussed it. Some of the political parties have not even responded to this circular. I am only reminding you so far as booth capturing is concerned, your party has no case. I may tell you very frankly to amend yourself on the booth capturing because people have learnt from Lok Dal. I live in Western U.P. and there has been no democracy in this place including adjoining areas. We have seen there and you must take note of this. If you are really a frank person—because we are all sincere today—let us do some sort of reform and contribute to this mighty democracy as we call India is. I promise, Sir. that these issues which are very, very important for further strengthening democracy for our future generation in India will be considered.

Let us all contribute in that spirit. Although we differ ideologically but our commitment to democracy except a few, who have no commitment to democracy, stands. I am very firm on that. We will all try to contribute and strengthen this system and let us not accuse an institution like the Election Commission, who in spite of very heavy odds has successfully taken us to the goal, that is bringing back Parliament in time and functioning of the Parliament. So, we must all be proud of this institution. Let us record our appreciation of being proud of the system of Election Commission. We can add to the powers of the Election Commission. If some more Members want, they can always be given. If they want more machinery, that can always be given but let us not accuse this institution. It is a very fine suggesion that the Elelction Commissioner, after having held position of that magnitude, should not be employed further. This suggesion can also be noted down because this is something which keeps his own position intact. But I am proud to say whether it is Sakdhar, Trivedi, Peri Sastri or S. P. Sen Verma, they are people who have proud record of service to the nation and they have deallt with most critical situations in the country. If there was any fault, it was the fault with the political parties. Maybe, our party or any other party but they have not been founded. They have answered the call of the nation. So, let us not say that the fault lies with the Election Commission or he officials of the Election Commission. Even some of the public servants who are put on duty in the elections, they suffer a lot of pain and a lot of inerference but still I am proud to say that no political party or no Government which is in power has been able to influence them in the performance of their duty faithfully to the people because then the entire nation is at work and when the entire nation is at work I do not think that anybody can work, against the will of the nation. This is where the success of our democracy lies. This is where the wisdom of our people lies. We have noted this fact. Reddy Ji, I agree with you that we should not put any restraint on the people of India. They have brought us to power. We must welcome them. But we should not disagree on certain fundamental principles. Once people try to bring one party in to power, nobody can stop them. No malpractice can stop them. No weakness of electoral system can stop them. They have done it, they have exhibited it and let us have faith in the people of India because it is they who ultimately decide what type of democracy they like.

Now, with regard to the party in majority coming after securing 40 per cent or 50 per cent votes, I think, no political party has, after having come to power said because we have come on 40 per cent or 45 per cent, we would not like to stay in power. That is some sort of a unique thing that one must practise before one preaches. That is one thing we must adopt. If you practise this, people will accept you. If Janata party came into power they could say very well, alright we have come on 41 per cent, we do not want

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to stay in power. You made promises to Late Jaiprakash Narayan. Could you fulfil those promises? If you name him in the Parliament today it is not a good thing. Let us see the spirit with which you were brought into power and in his own life time, I have read him that he was greatly pained at the conduct of the Janata Party. Was he not? He died as a frustrated person. I had the occasion to meet him in Express Tower because we all loved him as a great freedom fighter. But what type of frustration was brought about by the misdemeanor of the Janata Party? Let us not discuss Jaiprakash Narain (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : Does it not remind of Gandhiji disillusionment with the Congress Party?

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: We are still committed. I am not worthy of repeating Gandhijis' name because I have not practised what Gandhiji had said. I frankly concede that. (*Interruption*) But you even don't recognise him as a national leader, Mr. Chatterjee. You have some other person in your mind to follow the ideals (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: It was a fact that he was a leader of the country. (*Interruption*)

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: But do you accept Mahatma Gandhi's ideals or Mao's ideology?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I do not accept his ideology since his ideology was different, but I recognised this fact that he was a leader of the country. Certainly he was a leader.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: You have never accepted Mahatma Gandhi as your leader. You are well known for your ideology. Sir, hey have no commitment for Mahatma Gandhi and let us not enter into that argument. So, Sir, I am submitting this discussion has brought us to a very serious point namely that we shoulld go in for electoral reforms. But we will go in for these electoral reforms expeditiously when your cooperation is coming. When you reject our proposal, how can you talk like this now? I would love to sit with you. Let us come to some unanimity. It is a vital issue...

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: You do your duty.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ : Yes I shall certainly do my duty ...

SHRI K. MOHANAN: At least my party responded to the questionaire...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Please don't start a dialogue.

SHRI H. R. BHARDWAJ: It is a political party which never says 'yes' to anything suggested by anybody. There is hardly any discussion needed.

Sir, I am very grateful to the mover of the motion as also to the other friends who spoke. I have enjoyed the discussions. I have also learnt from these discussions, what needs to be done, how important it is, how it is to be done. We will continue to have this type of an atmosphere to bring in radical electoral reforms in the country. Let us hope democracy flourishes for future generations with the cooperation of all of us. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty one minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 5th December, 1986.

MGIPMRND—1609 RS—L—1-7-87—400.